

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

USMISSION OECD PARIS

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L BRUSSELS 8907

NOFORN

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS:PFOR, BE

SUBJECT: TINDEMANS' WISEMAN EXERCISE

1. FROM TWO RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH TINDEMANS WE HAVE
GOTTEN PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT OF HOW HIS WISEMAN'S EFFORT
IS PROGRESSING.

2. TINDEMANS HAS NOW VISITED SEVEN EC COUNTRIES.
IN EACH OF THE COUNTRIES VISITED HE HAS POSED THREE MAIN QUESTIONS:

A. WHAT DO EUROPEANS WANT TO DO IN COMMON?

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B. HOW SHOULD EUROPE BE ORGANIZED ULTIMATELY?

C. WHAT INSTITUTIONS ARE NEEDED TO ACHIEVE THESE OBJECTIVES.

3. THE GENERAL RESPONSE IN EUROPE TO HIS MISSION HAS BEEN POSITIVE. HE HAS FOUND LITTLE HOSTILITY, LITTLE SKEPTICISM. VIRTUALLY NO ONE HAS TOLD TINDEMANS HE WAS WASTING HIS TIME. THE ONLY OPPOSITION HAS COME FROM THE COMMUNISTS AND THE GAULISTS. EVEN WITH NO KNOWLEDGE OF THE CONTENT OF TINDEMANS' REPORT DEBRE SAID THAT HE WOULD OPPOSE IT.

4. TINDEMANS FINDS THAT MOST EUROPEAN LEADERS ARE THINKING AND ACTING LARGELY IN NATIONALISTIC TERMS. THERE IS LITTLE INCLINATION TO SUBORDINATE IMMEDIATE NATIONAL AIMS TO ADVANCE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION.

5. TINDEMANS HAS BEEN UNABLE TO DISCOVER ANY CONSENSUS ON SIGNIFICANT ACTIONS EUROPEANS MIGHT TAKE IN COMMON. HE SAYS THAT IT IS UNIVERSALLY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE MONNET APPROACH IS NO LONGER VALID. THE POINT HAS BEEN REACHED, TINDEMANS THINKS, WHERE FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARD POLITICAL INTEGRATION CANNOT BE MADE BY TRYING TO FASHION COMMON POLICIES IN MAJOR FUNCTIONAL AREAS. FOR EXAMPLE, TINDEMANS SEES NO PRACTICAL WAY UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES TO GET AGREEMENT ON A COMMON EUROPEAN ENERGY POLICY. NATIONAL INTERESTS ARE TOO DIVERSE AND TOO STRONG. HE WAS UNABLE TO POINT TO ANY OTHER MAJOR AREA WHERE FORWARD MOVEMENT MIGHT BE POLITICALLY FEASIBLE.

6. TINDEMANS HAS FOUND A WIDE DIVERGENCE OF VIEWS, INCLUDING MUCH UNCERTAINTY, ON HOW EUROPE SHOULD BE ORGANIZED ULTIMATELY. SOME, LIKE EDGAR FAURE, URGED TINDEMANS NOT EVEN TO PURSUE THE QUESTION NOW BECAUSE IT COULD NOT BE SOLVED AND BECAUSE DISCUSSING THE QUESTION SERIOUSLY WOULD BE DISRUPTIVE.

7. TINDEMANS IS ACTIVELY EXAMINING WHETHER IT WOULD BE CONFIDENTIAL

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POLITICALLY POSSIBLE TO MODIFY AND STRENGTHEN EXISTING INSTITUTIONS.

A. EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT: SOME EUROPEANS ARGUE THAT CAPABLE INDIVIDUALS WILL NOT SEEK TO BE ELECTED TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT UNLESS IT IS GIVEN SIGNIFICANT FUNCTIONS. OTHERS ARGUE THAT THERE IS NO NEED TO GIVE THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT IMPORTANT FUNCTIONS; THE ELECTED

PARLIAMENTARIANS WILL SEIZE THEM OR ACQUIRE THEM THROUGH THE EUROPEANIZATION OF NATIONAL POLITICS.

B. EUROPEAN COUNCIL: TINDEMANS SAYS THAT AT PRESENT THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE COUNCIL DEPENDS ALMOST ENTIRELY ON THE QUALITY OF THE CHAIRMAN, WHICH HAS VARIED WIDELY AS THE CHAIRMANSHIP ROTATES. TINDEMANS WONDERS TENTATIVELY WHETHER IT WOULD NOT BE DESIRABLE TO DESIGNATE SOMEONE WITHOUT REGARD FOR NATIONALITY TO BE THE CHAIRMAN FOR A PERIOD LONGER THAN SIX MONTHS.

8. WHEN TINDEMANS STARTED HIS CONSULTATIONS HE HAD HOPED TO FIND AREAS WHERE NATIONAL LEADERS WOULD BE WILLING TO FASHION COMMON POLICIES. IT DOES NOT APPEAR THAT HE HAS COME UP WITH ANY OF REAL IMPORTANCE. THE PROBLEM, AS HE SEES IT, IS NOT THE LACK OF IDEAS BUT THE ABSENCE OF POLITICAL WILL.

9. TINDEMANS SAYS THAT THE BRITISH WOULD LIKE HIM TO DELAY HIS REPORT. HOWEVER, HE IS NOT NOW INCLINED TO DO SO. HE IS TALKING ABOUT PRESENTING IT TO THE COUNCIL IN LATE DECEMBER OR EARLY JANUARY. HE ENVISAGES MAKING IT AVAILABLE TO THE PUBLIC. OTHERWISE, HE SAYS, IT WOULD MERELY COLLECT DUST IN THE COUNCIL'S FILES.

10 IN DISCUSSING THIS SUBJECT WITH FOREIGNERS, PLEASE DO NOT QUOTE TINDEMANS. FIRESTONE

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